

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 305588 TOSEC 250110

EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 9501 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ATHENS
MOSCOW NICOSIA DTD 31 DEC

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 9501

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, UR

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL'S COMMENTS ON KOSYGIN VISIT

1. FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL INVITED ME TO THE
FOREIGN MINISTRY DECEMBER 31 TO GIVE ME, AS HE PHRASED
IT, AN EXPLANATION OF THE KOSYGIN VISIT. HE SAID HE WOULD
GIVE ME AS MUCH INFORMATION AS I WOULD HAVE ACQUIRED IF
I HAD BEEN A MEMBER OF THE TURKISH DELEGATION. HE ASKED
THAT IT BE SENT TO THE SECRETARY BUT BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY AND
NOT DISTRIBUTED "TO STAFF."

2. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT THE IDEA OF THE VISIT ORIGINATED
WHEN THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA CALLED HIM ASKING
WHEN THE ISKENDRUN STEEL MILL WOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY COMPLETED
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SO THAT IT COULD BE INAUGURATED. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIET
UNION WISHED TO SEND A DELEGATION TO THE INAUGURAL
CEREMONY WHICH THEY HAD HEARD WOULD BE HELD AROUND
DECEMBER 21. THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THEY WERE NOT

SURE THE FACILITY WOULD BE COMPLETED BY THAT TIME.

3. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT HE TOLD THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR THAT HE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT THE TECHNICAL DETAILS BUT HE WOULD ASK PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL WHEN THE INAUGURATION WOULD TAKE PLACE. CAGLAYANGIL SAID HE ALSO ASKED WHO MIGHT BE ON THE SOVIET DELEGATION. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR SAID HE DID NOT KNOW BUT ASKED IF TURKS HAD ANY SUGGESTIONS TO WHICH CAGLAYANGIL REPLIED THAT INASMUCH AS PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL AND PREMIER KOSYGIN HAD SIGNED THE RELEVANT TREATIES, TURKEY WOULD BE PLEASED IF KOSYGIN COULD POSSIBLY ATTEND THE INAUGURATION.

4. CAGLAYANGIL SAID HE TOLD DEMIREL THAT THE SOVIETS WERE SKEPTICAL THAT INAUGURATION COULD TAKE PLACE AS EARLY AS DECMEBER 21 SO THAT PRIME MINISTER AGREED TO SEND AN INSPECTION TEAM TO ESTABLISH WHETHER OR NOT THAT DATE WAS POSSIBLE. THE FORMIN SAID HE THEN LEFT FOR BRUSSELS AND DURING HIS ABSENCE THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD INFORMED PRIMIN DEMIREL THAT THE SOVIETS NOW AGREED THAT THE INSTALLATION COULD BE COMPLETED BY THE 21ST AND PREMIER KOSYGIN HAD AGREED TO HEAD THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION WHICH WOULD ATTEND THE INAUGURATION CEREMONY. THE PRIMIN HAS RESPONDED THAT HIS TEAM OF EXPERTS HAD CONCLUDED THE FACILITY COULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE READY PRIOR TO DECEMBER 28 AND THE INAUGURATION WAS BEING RESCHEDULED FOR THAT TIME. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR SAID HE WOULD INFORM MOSCOW AND THE FOLLOWING DAY HE RECEIVED A RESPONSE SAYING THAT KOSYGIN WOULD BE ABLE TO COME ON THE 28TH.

5. CAGLAYANGIL THEN GAVE THE FOLLOWING DETAILED SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS HELD DURING KOSYGIN'S VISIT. HE SAID THE VISIT HAD OPENED THE WAY FOR INCREASED BILATERAL CONTACTS AND DISCUSSIONS. HE SAID THE DISCUSSIONS DURING THE VISIT INCLUDED INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. KOSYGIN HAD TOLD THE TURKS THAT DETENTE WAS PROCEEDING EXTREMELY WELL AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD EXERTED EVERY EFFORT IN THIS
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REGARD. KOSYGIN CLAIMED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE PEACE-LOVING AND THAT THE SOVIET ECONOMY WAS STRONG AND IMMUNE FROM THE PRESSURES OF INFLATION WHICH AFFECTED WESTERN ECONOMIES. HE ALSO SAID THE SOVIET UNION HAD NO BELLIGERENT INTENTIONS. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE SOVIETS BELIEVED THE FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENT IN RECENT TIMES. KOSYGIN SAID BREZHNEV HAD BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN THE SUCCESS OF THE HELSINKI NEGOTIATIONS.

6. KOSYGIN SAID THAT THE SOVIETS, AND SPECIFICALLY BREZHNEV, DIVIDE WORLD PROBLEMS INTO THREE CATEGORIES: ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT, AND COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION. THE SOVIETS ASSERT THAT THE WORLD WILL NOT FIND PEACE

UNLESS THESE PROBLEMS ARE RESOLVED. CAGLAYANGIL INTERJEC-
TED AT THIS POINT THAT TURKS WERE STRUCK BY FACT
THAT SOVIETS MENTIONED ONLY ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL
SUBJECTS AGREED UPON AT HELSINKI. HE SAID KOSYGIN
COMPLTELY IGNORED POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN
ASPECTS OF THE FINAL ACT.

7. KOSYGIN COMPLAINED TO THE TURKS ABOUT MASSIVE U.S.
EXPENDITURES FOR ARMAMENTS WHICH HE SAID WERE THE
HIGHEST IN THE WORLD. IN TURN, HE CLAIMED THE SOVIETS
WERE "VERY MODEST" IN THEIR ARMS EXPENDITURES,
ALLOCATING THE SAME LEVEL THIS YEAR AS LAST.

8. KOSYGIN SAID THAT SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH
WEST EUROPE AND JAPAN WERE DEVELOPING WELL AND THAT
RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. WERE NORMAL. HE SAID
THAT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION WERE
PERIODIC AND SYSTEMATIC. HE NOTED THAT BOTH NATIONS
PARTICIPATE IN REGULAR DISCUSSIONS SUCH AS SALT AND
MBFR. HE ALSO SAID THAT DURING MBFR TALKS OTHER
BILATERAL ISSUES WERE SOMETIMES DISCUSSED.

9. CAGLAYANGIL INTERJECTED AT THIS POINT THAT HE HAD
THOUGHT UPON HEARING THIS COMMENT OF HOW OFTEN HIS
U.S. FRIENDS HAD TOLD HIM THEY HAVE HAD DISCUSSIONS
WITH THE SOVIETS ON "BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES."
FOR EIGHT YEARS CAGLAYANGIL SAID HE HAD WONDERED WHAT
THESE ISSUES WERE BUT HE HAD NEVER HEARD THEM DESCRIBED
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AS ANY THING OTHER THAN "INTERNATIONAL ISSUES."

10. KOSYGIN TOLD THE TURKS THAT ECONOMIC RELATIONS
BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET UNION COULD NOT IMPROVE BEYOND
THE PRESENT LEVEL BECAUSE THE U.S. WOULD NOT ASSIGN THE
SOVIET UNION MOST-FAVORED NATION STATUS. CAGLAYANGIL
SAID THAT KOSYGIN TRIED TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE
SOVIETS WERE MORE INTERESTED IN IMPROVING THEIR ECONOMIC
RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. THAN THE U.S. WAS WITH THE SOVIETS.

11. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT ON THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM, THE
SOVIETS REPEATED THEIR STANDARD VIEWS PARTICULARLY WITH
REGARD TO THE NEED FOR THE PALESTINIANS TO BE ALLOWED TO
PARTICIPATE IN THE GENEVA TALKS.

12. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT KOSYGIN SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH
ABOUT SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS. HE SAID THAT AN
AMELIORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP COULD NOT BE EXPECTED
BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BECAUSE CHINESE
INTRANSIGENCE WILL NEVER CHANGE. KOSYGIN ALSO OBSERVED
THAT THE MAO PERSONALITY CULT WAS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT
OF CONTEMPORARY CHINA BUT THAT MAO WOULD NOT LIVE

FOREVER AND IT WAS UNCLEAR WHAT WOULD HAPPEN AFTER HE WAS GONE. KOSYGIN SAID THAT THE CHINESE ARE MORE INTERESTED IN PRODUCING ARMS THAN IN FEEDING THEIR PEOPLE. HE ALSO SAID THAT THEIR ARMS FACTORIES, WHICH THE SOVIETS HAD PROVIDED DURING THE 50'S, WERE OUTDATED AND BECOMING DIFFICULT TO OPERATE.

13. KOSYGIN SAID THAT ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH JAPAN WERE DEVELOPING NORMALLY. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE KURILE ISLANDS WERE NO LONGER A PROBLEM IN SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT DURING DISCUSSION OF ASIA, KOSYGIN AVOIDED ANY MENTION OF ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY.

14. CAGLAYANGIL SAID KOSYGIN, INTERESTINGLY, DID NOT BRING UP THE SUBJECT OF CYPRUS DURING HIS TOUR D'HORIZON. HOWEVER, PRIMIN DEMIREL, IN HIS PRESENTATION, UNLIKE KOSYGIN, DID NOT SPEND MUCH TIME ON GENERAL INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, BUT INSTEAD STRESSED ALMOST ENTIRELY GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS AND THE CYPRUS ISSUE. KOSYGIN
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INTERRUPTED DURING DEMIREL'S DISCUSSION OF TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS AND ASKED IF TURKEY COULD NOT SIGN A FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH GREECE. DEMIREL'S RESPONSE WAS TO QUESTION NEED FOR A FRIENDSHIP TREATY IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT GREECE AND TURKEY WERE ALREADY ALLIES WITHIN NATO. KOSYGIN THEN ASKED IF TURKEY AGREED WITH THE IDEA THAT THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO HAS BEEN WEAKENED. DEMIREL RESPONDED THAT TURKEY DOES NOT ACCEPT THAT CHARACTERIZATION EVEN THOUGH IT MAY SEEM SO TO AN OUTSIDER. CAGLAYANGIL SAID IT WAS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS HAVE REGULARLY PROMOTED THE IDEA THAT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, KOSYGIN DID NOT MENTION THIS IDEA DURING HIS VISIT.

15. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THE GOT'S IMPRESSION IS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE SINCERELY DESIROUS OF IMPROVING THEIR RELATIONS WITH TURKEY. HE SAID KOSYGIN HAD TOLD THEM THAT THE SOVIET POLITBURO HAD DISCUSSED HIS VISIT PRIOR TO HIS COMING TO TURKEY AND THAT THEY CONCLUDED THERE WERE NO PROBLEMS IN TURKISH-SOVIET RELATIONS. HE ASKED IF IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH A PROGRAM OF PERIODIC CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. THE TURKS RESPONDED THAT THEY ARE AGREEABLE TO CONSULTATIONS BUT THEY DO NOT REPEAT NOT WANT TO INSTITUTIONALIZE SUCH CONTACTS.

16. KOSYGIN THEN ASKED IF IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO SIGN SOME SORT OF DECLARATION REPEATING AND SUPPORTING THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI. THE TURKS SAID THEY SAW NO NEED FOR REPETITION OF THE FINAL ACT, BUT AGREED THAT THEY COULD PERHAPS IMPROVE ON THE

1972 DECLARATION OF GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS SIGNED DURING PRESIDENT PODGORNYY'S VISIT BY ADDING TO IT THINGS INSPIRED BY THE FINAL ACT. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THE TURKS AGREED TO EXCHANGE DRAFTS AND PERHAPS TO SIGN SUCH AN AGREEMENT DURING A LATER VISIT. HE NOTED THAT SUCH DECLARATION HAD BEEN SIGNED BY TURKEY WITH ROMANIA AND BULGARIA. HE SAID THAT THE PRIMIN HAD ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE AN INVITATION TO VISIT THE SOVIET UNION BUT THE TIMING WOULD BE WORKED OUT LATER.

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17. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THE SOVIETS HAD WANTED TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT ON HIGH-JACKING BUT THERE WERE SOME DIFFERENCES WHICH COULD NOT BE RESOLVED. HE SAID THE ONLY THING SIGNED DURING KOSYGIN'S VISIT WAS A NEW CULTURAL EXCHANGE AGREEMENT WHICH WAS SIGNED BY THE MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS AND THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR. HE SAID THE SOVIETS HAD PROPOSED A BROADENED CULTURAL AGREEMENT BUT IN FACT THE ONE SIGNED WAS NARROWER IN SCOPE THAN PREVIOUS ONES.

18. CAGLAYANGIL SAID HIS GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE VISIT WAS THAT IT WAS A CONSTRUCTIVE ONE. HE SAID THE SOVIETS DID NOT SUGGEST ANYTHING THAT MIGHT DISTURB GOT AND THAT DURING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE COMMUNIQUE, THEY GENERALLY YIELDED TO THE TURKS. CAGLAYANGIL CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE KOSYGIN VISIT WAS A PRODUCT OF THE POLICY OF DETENTE -- OF THE GROWING CONTACTS BETWEEN COUNTRIES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. HE SAID IT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS A VISIT CONTRIBUTING TO EFFORTS, INCLUDING U.S. EFFORTS, TO EFFECT DETENTE.
MACOMBER UNQTE
ROBINSON

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